

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 SAM-01 CIAE-00 COME-00 EB-07

INR-07 LAB-04 NSAE-00 RSC-01 SIL-01 DODE-00 PM-03

H-01 L-02 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

NIC-01 SAJ-01 OMB-01 /083 W
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R 101405Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY OSLO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9159

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USEC BRUSSELS 1037

USOECD PARIS

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L OSLO 0122

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ELAB PINT PO NO

SUBJ: PORTUGAL

REF: (A) OSLO 0116 (B) LISBON A-143 (C) OSLO 0121

SUMMARY: PORTUGAL WAS ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL POINTS
OF DISCUSSION BETWEEN AFL-CIO REPRESENTATIVE BOGGS
AND HIS LO HOSTS IN OSLO JANUARY 3-6 (REF A). LO
INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY SANDEGREN WAS IN LISBON
IN DECEMBER (REF B) AND LO HOPES TO BE ABLE TO
INFLUENCE INTERSINDICAL IN A DEMOCRATIC DIRECTION,
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DESPITE ITS PRESENT COMMUNIST INCLINATION AND

CONTROL. LO OPPOSES FORMATION OF A RIVAL DEMOCRATIC CENTRAL, WHICH BOGGS SAW AS UNDOUBTEDLY NECESSARY EVENTUALLY, BUT LO WOULD BE INCLINED TO COOPERATE WITH THE AFL-CIO IN ENCOURAGING ITS AND PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY ACTIVITY IN THE TRADE UNION FIELD IN PORTUGAL. LO IS CONTINUING ITS COOL, NON-COMMITAL POSITION BLOCKING INTERSINDICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE GENEVA EAST-WEST CONFERENCE, IN ORDER TO EXERCISE LEVERAGE ON INTER-SINDICAL, BUT MAY EVENTUALLY GO ALONG IN VIEW OF INTERSINDICAL'S NEW OPENNESS TOWARD LO. END SUMMARY.

1. PORTUGAL WAS A MAJOR SUBJECT OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN AFL-CIO INTERNATIONAL DEPARTMENT ASSISTANT DIRECTOR MICHAEL BOGGS AND NORWEGIAN TRADE UNION (LO) LEADERS DURING BOGGS' JANUARY VISIT TO OSLO (REF A). DESPITE A COMMON BASIC INTEREST IN DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENT, BOGGS AND HIS HOSTS (PRINCIPALLY LO PRESIDENT ASPENGREN, VICE PRESIDENT HOJDAHL AND INTERNATIONAL SECRETARY SANDEGREN) DISAGREED OUTSPOKENLY AND AT LENGTH ABOUT HOW TO PROCEED, ACCORDING TO BOTH BOGGS AND SANDEGREN. THE NORWEGIANS BELIEVE STRONGLY IN THE VALUE OF A SINGLE UNITARY LABOR CENTER ON THE SCANDINAVIAN MODEL AND ARE HORRIFIED AT THE THOUGHT OF RIVAL CENTERS ON THE FRENCH OR ITALIAN MODEL. THEY HAVE CONCLUDED THAT INTER-SINDICAL WILL DOMINATE PORTUGUESE LABOR WHETHER OR NOT A RIVAL CENTER IS ESTABLISHED, FEEL STRONGLY THAT A RIVAL CENTER SHOULD NOT BE ESTABLISHED, CONCEDE COMMUNISTS ARE NOW DOMINANT IN INTERSINDICAL BUT VIEW INTERSINDICAL'S INTERNAL SITUATION AS FLUID, AND BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT THAT NORWAY'S LO WORK WITH INTERSINDICAL TO INFLUENCE IT IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST DIRECTION AND NOT ABANDON IT TO EXCLUSIVE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE. BOGGS RECOUNTED TO THEM HIS PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WHICH INDICATED THAT THE COMMUNISTS, CLOSELY ADVISED AND SUPERVUED BY WFTU AND CGT REPRESENTATIVES AND AN

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ITALIAN COMMUNIST FROM THE ILO, WERE STRONGLY IN CONTROL AND SUGGESTED THAT THE NORWEGIANS WERE OVERLY OPTIMISTIC IN BELIEVING THEY COULD COMPETE WITH THE SOVIETS IN INFLUENCING INTERSINDICAL OR THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD, OR COULD BE COMPELLED TO, LET GO OF SUCH A STRATEGIC PRIZE. BOGGS ARGUED THAT CREATION OF A RIVAL DEMOCRATIC CENTRAL WOULD BE BOTH DESIRABLE AND NECESSARY, WHEN

FEASIBLE, AND THAT, INDEED, THE PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS WERE CONVINCED OF THIS. ON THE PRACTICAL MATTER OF WHAT COULD BE DONE IN PORTUGAL, THERE SEEMED TO BE COMMON INTEREST IN COOPERATION TO BUILD UP INTERNATIONAL TRADE SECRETARIATE OPERATIONS IN PORTUGAL AND TO SEEK OUT AND DEVELOP PORTUGUESE SOCIALISTS WHO COULD BE EFFECTIVE IN THE TRADE UNIONS. BOTH BOGGS AND SANDEGREN FELT THAT THE TALKS HAD BEEN EXTREMELY VALUABLE AND, THAT THE NORWEGIANS HAD GAINED ADDED INSIGHT INTO THE PORTUGUESE SITUATION AS A RESULT, ALTHOUGH THE NORWEGIANS STILL FELT THAT INTERSINDICAL WOULD INEVITABLY BE THE DOMINANT, AND THUS PREFERABLY THE ONLY, TRADE UNION CENTER IN PORTUGAL AND SHOULD NOT BE LEFT TO COMMUNIST INFLUENCE ALONE.

2. SANDEGREN VISITED LISBON IN DECEMBER FOR THE PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY CONVENTION (REF B), HE WAS WELL RECEIVED BY INTERSINDICAL, IN CONTRAST TO THE SNUB HE RECEIVED ON HIS LAST VISIT, AND SPENT TWO HOURS WITH THEM ONE DAY AND THREE HOURS PLUS LUNCH THE NEXT. HE SAW SOME SIGNS OF MORE OPENESS TO NON-COMMUNIST CURRENTS IN INTERSINDICAL, MORE ATTENTION TO THE RANK-AND-FILE, AND INDICATIONS THAT SOCIALISTS ARE BEGINNING TO BE ELECTED TO LEAD SOME BASIC ORGANIZATIONS. AN INTERSINDICAL GROUP VISITING MOSCOW LATE IN DECEMBER STOPPED IN OSLO ON ITS WAY BACK AND TALKED FURTHER ABOUT COOPERATION WITH LO. LO HAS MODERATED SOMEWHAT ITS OPPOSITION TO INTERSINDICAL'S PARTICIPATION IN THE GENEVA EAST-WEST TALKS, BUT HAS MADE NO COMMITMENT TO THE PORTUGUESE AND IS MAINTAINING ITS COOLNESS AND OPPOSITION AT LEAST FOR THE MOMENT

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IN THE PREPARATORY COMMISSION (REF C).

3. SANDEGREN'S IMPRESSION OF THE SOCIALIST CONVENTION WAS OF A WIDE-OPEN, CHAOTIC, ENTHUSIASTIC, EXCEEDINGLY DEMOCRATIC GATHERING. ACCORDING TO SANDEGREN, THE SOARES MODERATES BEAT THE LEFT-WING 60-40 IN THE KEY VOTE AND SOARES MAINTAINED HIS STRONG EMPHASIS ON SOCIALISM IN LIBERTY IN HIS FINAL SPEECH, ALTHOUGH MAKING NUMEROUS COMPROMISSORY BOWS TO THE LEFT, INCLUDING GESTURES TO COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. ALL IN ALL, SANDEGREN FEELS DEMOCRACY IS BEGINNING TO TAKE HOLD IN PORTUGAL AND EXPECTS CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS TO TAKE PLACE IN MARCH AS SCHEDULED, WITH EITHER THE SOCIALISTS OR THE "CENTRIST LIBERAL" PPD COMING

OUT IN FRONT. IN THE LONG RUN, HE IS GUARDEDLY OPTIMISTIC THAT
DEMOCRACY WILL SUCCEED, BUT CONSIDERS A REFORMIST MILITARY
REGIME A POSSIBLE OUTCOME SHOULD THE ARMED FORCES
MOVEMENT, NOW PRIMARILY TIED TO THE SOCIALISTS,
BECOME FRUSTRATED WITH THE POLITICAL PROCESS.
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